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## SITUATION REPORTS

### POLAND

*The general agreement hammered out over the weekend between Solidarity and the regime temporarily brought both sides back from the edge of confrontation but left important details for future negotiations and ignored other potentially contentious issues.*

The most recent dispute was similar in many ways to the crises that have preceded it over the past seven months. Solidarity, spurred on partly by its militants, challenged the regime on several key issues but was willing to settle for less than it sought. The Kania regime strongly resisted the demands, perhaps more intensely this time because of pressure from hardliners, but in the end followed its familiar tactic of seeking compromise and delay.

Many Poles and probably Moscow will believe that Solidarity once again came out ahead. Whatever the merits there might be to the regime's argument that it forced Solidarity to compromise, the more important facts in the minds of many--especially the hardliners--is that any compromise requires the regime to give up some power or share in some activity that had previously been solely under its control.

Solidarity probably was most successful on the work-week problem. Although the union agreed to a 42-hour workweek in 1981 and to the regime's contention that workers must make up the workdays they boycotted in January, the regime committed itself to the 5-day 40-hour week beginning next year instead of in 1985 as it originally had proposed.

The regime apparently agreed "in principle" to grant Solidarity access to television and radio and allow it to publish its own weekly newspaper, leaving the details for further negotiation. Although Solidarity reportedly

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agreed to submit most material for review, it clearly is not prepared to endure the heavyhanded censorship that was characteristic of the Gierk regime. It seems likely that this issue will surface again in discussions of the new censorship law and could remain unresolved for months.

The government refused to budge on the registration of Rural Solidarity. Although Solidarity decided not to let the talks fail over this issue, it moved to throw greater support behind the farmers' cause. This dispute will come to a head on 10 February when the Polish Supreme Court is to rule on registration of the union. Solidarity leaders have been ambiguous about whether they will call strikes if the court fails to register the farmers' union.

The most significant result of the negotiations may be the apparent agreement to establish a "mixed commission" of Solidarity and regime representatives to discuss problems regularly. Recent events were precipitated partly by the belief of some in Solidarity that the regime was trying to implement policy unilaterally. If the regime uses the commission as a sounding board, it might be able to avert some future problems. Some in the regime might argue, however, that such a commission gives the impression that the regime has lost its ability to act.

For the next few days, the Solidarity leadership will be trying to sell the agreement to its powerful regional chapters and to mediate local disputes.

#### Soviet and East German Reaction

Moscow apparently is unimpressed by the Polish agreement and continues to call for a tougher line by the regime against the union. While the Soviet media noted the compromise briefly without comment, it has continued to blast Solidarity in very harsh terms. An article in *Izvestiya* last Sunday charged that Solidarity's use of "demagogic slogans" to advance political goals revealed its "antisocialist face." A TASS dispatch from

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Warsaw yesterday claimed that Solidarity is "stepping up" its confrontational activities and painted an overall bleak picture of the current situation in Poland.

In one of the most direct public Soviet warnings to the Kania regime that further compromise is unacceptable, the TASS dispatch asserted that most workers are "expecting that measures will be adopted to step up the repulse to counterrevolution." The negative tone of Soviet comment, while not directly critical of party chief Kania, suggests that Moscow's confidence in him has eroded further.

Although some of the East European media have reported the compromise, this also has not prevented continued critical commentaries. East German media portray the situation in Poland as virtually out of control and accuse Solidarity, in alliance with the dissidents, of openly working for the overthrow of the regime. The two groups are said to have already achieved the first stage of a plan for "counterrevolution" by establishing Solidarity as a legalized opposition.

#### Military Situation

We continue to observe seasonally high training and exercise activity by Soviet forces in and around Poland.

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